436 The ideal medium of exchange is the salt which [492] abounds in the Sahara and which is totally lacking in the Sudan. 439 Thus we see a caravan cycle spread out over a whole year and thousands of kilometers. This is all the more viable /sic/ for the Ihaggaren since it makes use of their many camels which otherwise might remain unused in part.

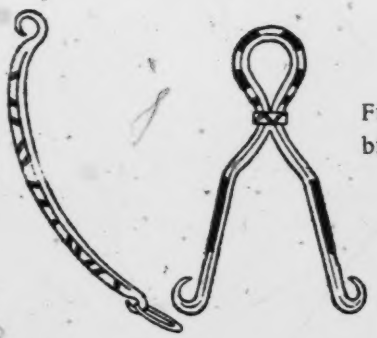

Fig. 22. Camel bit (detail).

317 The starting point is naturally the salt [415] deposit. The mine /219/ is open; one need only detach the salt in pieces and place it in leather bags to transport it. This labor is kept for the Iklan, who arrive at the salt deposits during the summer and [492] stay there from three weeks to a month. Each camel owner operates at will, and transports the salt to his camp after extracting it.

Fig. 23. Device for attaching the camel's bridle.

439 Toward mid-September, all the 484 caravaneers gather together by tribes. [487] Soon they leave their families in the Ahaggar and take the long route for the Sudan, crossing the Tanezrouft. Thus one may see caravans of 100 to 150 camels, but rarely more, for the pasture grounds would not allow it. The arrival in the Sudan must occur after the rainy

232 the ridge of the nose, and then tying a very thin leather thong very tightly around the base of each fold much as a string is tied around the opening of a toy balloon to keep the air in. After a while the thongs are cut away and three little round knobs, about the size of the end of your index finger, remain for the rest of the camel's life as a kind of hallmark of outstanding quality (fig. 26, *a*). Riding camels are very carefully and patiently trained from the age of about 2 years on, and the males are castrated when about 5 years old.

Trading. We have now seen that pastoralism
439 is the central column and garden rent a corner post of Tuareg economy in the Ahaggar. Trade is the second corner post, and salt is, as we have seen, the chief article of export.
[317] In April or May some of the Ahaggar Tuareg send their slaves to the salt mines of the Amadror for two or three weeks. In July they go south with their cargoes of salt, through the
[481] rich pastures of the Tamesna region where they rest their animals for a while or exchange them for fresh ones, and then on to the commercial centers of the country just north of the Nigerian frontier. Here trading begins in earnest, late in October as a rule, and endless discussions and bargaining go on for a couple of months or so. Salt, and also camels, donkeys, and dates obtained from the North, are exchanged chiefly for millet but also for a variety of manufactured articles such as cotton cloth and clothing, leather goods, sandals, saddles and bridles, wooden household utensils and tools and weapons of iron and steel. In January the Ahaggar Tuareg turn north again, pause once more for a while in the Tamesna, and finally reach their homes in March or early April.

Camels, hairy sheep, goats, donkeys and congealed melted butter used to be traded in the oases of the Tidikelt and the Touat mainly for dates, and also for cotton cloth, thin woolen blankets from the Gourara, tea, sugar and tobacco. Caravans engaged in this trade used to leave the Ahaggar in January or early February and return in April. Over the last 30 years or so, however, this commercial current has been reduced to a mere trickle by middlemen with trucks who have gradually taken over delivery of the goods that caravans used to fetch from the North. The trade still exists in a sense, but it has become indirect

439 /63 cont./ Tuareg society, nomadic through geographical necessity and warlike by need, in order to feed the soldier nobles, the herdsmen imrads, and the domestic slaves, had to find a way to balance the risks attendant to the cultivation of the valleys of the Ahaggar by the harratin. The method found is, on the one hand, to exchange salt extracted from the Amadror for millet from the Sudan, and, on the other hand, to exchange wheat harvested in the Ahaggar for dates from the Tidikelt. This double movement constitutes the essence of the Tuareg economy; it brings to light:

1) Barter, still used as system of exchange.

2) The curious fact that the Targui feeds himself with foods which are not produced in the Ahaggar, dates and millet.

3) The fact that if the Targui needs Negro domestics and harratin cultivators, he is equally necessary to them in order for them to live. It is estimated that millet makes up two-thirds of /64/ the food of the population of the Ahaggar, the other third consisting of dates.

4) The existence, as a result of this organization, of a large camel herd to maintain the caravans.

Barter

317 439 This country, disinherited by nature, nevertheless gives its inhabitants one rich resource: salt. This salt, which is lacking in the Sudan, lies in great quantities on the Amadror plain, an interior basin situated to the northeast of the Ahaggar, bounded to the north by the Tassili des Adjjer, to the west by the Edjéré, and to the east by the hills which separate it from the basin of the Taffassasset.

The Amadror region, an old dried-up sebkha, is particularly desertlike. The salt is at the surface, so it is mined in the open air, in blocks weighing 50 or 60 kilograms; the small pieces cut from the blocks are put in sacks and carried off. It is evident that such a barren, desolate, frightful,

317 439 /64 cont./ waterless country would inspire legends; stories are told of genii which haunt the salt mines all night long, and this invisible and baneful world may be heard thumping the ground and ceaselessly breaking the salt blocks with diabolical energy. When day returns, the work site seems to be in the same state as on the evening before, and nothing seems to have happened during the night, ...and yet, "They were there." Some Tuareg claim to have seen horse tracks stamped in the ground and to have ascertained the existence of equipment for extracting salt predating those now in use -- which would tend to prove the antiquity of this mining work.

The desert contains other saltworks which supply the Sudan; to the west, Idjil and above all Taoudéni are the best known; to the east are the mines of Bilma and the Acedjerad, but among the latter the Amadror salt is the most esteemed at the markets of the savanna.

Toward the month of April or May; the Tuareg send their /65/ Negro domestics to extract the salt. Caravans of about a hundred camels advance by small stages toward the salt mines, following well-beaten tracks which lead by the wells of Dehine and In-Tarass (the latter is 40 kilometers from the salt).

The work is done as rapidly as possible, for the sojourn in those parts has nothing pleasant about it because of the heat, the lack of water and wood, and the nocturnal presence of the Kel es Souf (genii). The method of extraction is clearly disorderly, but what does it matter, there is so much salt! [H92] The blocks are hewn with a kind of ax; two blocks, after having been tied with a chebka (coarse net), make a load for a camel. The small pieces are put in sacks (made from palm fibers) in 50-kilogram loads. In ten days, two men can load 50 camels, or about three metric tons of salt.

Then comes the return to the camps in the Ahaggar. Until time to be sent to the Sudan, the salt is stored near the tents or the villages. The custom is for the Negro returning

317 /65 cont./ from the Amadror to offer bits of salt to the camps
439 he encounters on his way; in exchange he is given lodging and entertained.

439 When the moment comes to leave for the Sudan, at the end of June, a Targui takes command of the caravan, in which every fifth camel carries salt. Toward the end of July the caravan arrives in the Tamesna, the region of In-Abangarit, where the Ahaggar camels live permanently. This is still almost home, it is good to rest here, and the camels, which have just covered about 1,000 kilometers, take advantage of the abundant pastures of the Sahel region. Toward the month of September or the beginning of October, the caravan gets under way again with the camels rested or exchanged for fresh ones. The Damergou region, whose largest center is Tahoua, is reached toward the end of October. This region is well known to the Kel Ahaggar. Their customers are there. Then the bartering begins; it is a long operation involving protracted discussions and laborious bargaining, during which /66/ the Tuareg exchange the salt for millet at a rate varying from year to year (the rate depends on the size of the millet harvest and how much salt is brought from elsewhere than the Ahaggar). Consignments of marine salt arriving by river routes threaten to upset the balance of the Ahaggar economy and to starve the Tuareg.

Times are cited during which a load of salt was exchanged for 15 loads of millet; on the average, the barter is carried out on the basis of five to eight loads of millet for one load of salt. The quantities exchanged are very small; they vary from a handful to two kilograms. Sometimes, but rather rarely, salt is sold to traders. With the money thus obtained, the Targui buys cloth, leather, a saddle, and several objects of domestic use, then starts back for the Ahaggar. It is now January; it will take three months before seeing the koudia again, for the caravan is laden and always stops at Tamesna, where there are celebrations, tendi, ilougan, and welcoming

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abundantly in one year than another there has always been rain enough to allow the annual pastures to spring up.

In Ayr there are three species of trees or bushes which remain green all the year round, viz. *ébezgin* (*Salvadora persica*), *tadent* (*Boscia senegalensis*), and *turza* (*Calotropis procera*). They are extremely common, and the two first species play a certain role for fodder during the hot and dry summer season (*éwilen*), but dry annual plants then constitute the best fodder for all domestic animals. The annual plants comprise various species; around Agadez they are mainly grasses, but the small thorny seed-plant *ageruf* (*Tribulus terrester*) is also very important. These tender plants spring up shortly after the rains but they wither even before rainfall stops at the beginning of the *rarat* season. The perennial fodder plants are of little value in the hot season. The *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*), which is extremely common everywhere, germinates at the beginning of the rains and is dry and contains little nourishment in summer. Acacias form very important fodder plants for camels and goats, but they are also of little value at this season when they defoliate. The two most important acacias are *afagag* (*absef* in Ahaggar) (*Acacia Raddiana*) and *tamat* (*Acacia flava*). The *afagag* acacia germinates shortly after the first rains (*akasa*) and has its highest fodder value in the season of *rarat* when the fruit pods fall to the ground providing excellent fodder for all domestic animals. The *tamat*-acacia starts germinating somewhat later and its fruit pods, which are equally important for fodder, do not fall until the beginning of the season known as *tabsit*, at which period the fruit pods of the *agar* tree (*Maerua crassifolia*) also fall. For southern Ayr it can be said that grazing conditions are tolerably good most of the year. They are extremely good when annual plants are green during the period of *akasa*, and they are bad in summer (*éwilen*) when the lactation of domestic animals is low.

Grazing conditions within the Ayr Massif are much more favourable than in Ahaggar, but one thing is lacking:— There are very few saliferous plants. Thus, for instance, there are very few tamarisks (*temeyut* = *Tamarix aphylla*; *azawa* = *Tamarix gallica*), which are found only within limited areas of the Massif; species of *Salsola* are very rare, and the very important saliferous plant, known to the Northern Tuareg as *aramas* (*Atriplex Halimus*), is not found within the Massif. The Ayr Tuareg therefore have to feed their animals with salty earth which can be dug in certain parts of Ayr, or with Bilma salt, which plays an enormous part for most stock-breeders of Ayr and adjacent regions. The Ayr Tuareg cannot so easily take their flocks and herds to salt pastures as can the Northern Tuareg. But there is south and southwest of the Ayr Massif a narrow belt of salt-containing soil and water. This region is known to the Tuareg as *Azawaɣ* because of its particular reddish soil. With this particular type of soil, well water and pools will contain some salt, as do most plants, and many Tuareg of the Ayr Massif migrate to the *Azawaɣ* country at the end of the rains to allow their animals to benefit from the salt-content of the water and plants there. There is another reason why some Ayr Tuareg, who have their normal grazing areas within the Massif, migrate south and westwards into the plains, namely the appearance in these regions of a small annual plant known as *emchéken* (*Ipomoea verticillata*). The Ayr Tuareg consider it one of the very best fodder plants for camels, goats, and sheep, but claim it to be less valuable for cattle and donkeys. – At the end of the rains the Ayr Tuareg who migrate to the *Azawaɣ* country camp among pastoralists of different and distant regions. At this season most *Kel Geres* Tuareg migrate northwards to camp around Tegidda-n-edrar and Tegidda-n-

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there will be one entirely dry year throughout, during which stock-breeding products have little or no value as food, and in such years of dry pasture there will also be very few wild plants to collect. Hunting, which plays little part for most Tuareg nowadays, is also of little value in an entirely dry year when many game animals die or migrate to other regions with more favourable pasture. It would seem obvious for pastoral Tuareg to do the same and to take their animals to grazing grounds outside of Ahaggar – particularly to the southern plains where pasture is normally better than in their own country. We have seen that most Ahaggar Tuareg in bad years have their she-camels far from Ahaggar in the Tamesna plains or in the country north of Adraɣ-n-Foɣas. We have also mentioned that, under very severe conditions, camps of Ahaggar and Ahnet may move to these southern regions with their flocks, though extensive goat-migrations are not always profitable. But most Tuareg remain in Ahaggar even in very dry years with their camps and flocks. Some of the animals will die, and none of them can be mated so that the flocks may rapidly decrease. During such years of drought the Ahaggar Tuareg live so to speak exclusively on agricultural food products of which they get only a part from their gardens grown by sedentary agriculturists (the *Ḥarratin*, or *Izzegaɣen*). It is mainly through caravan trading that the Ahaggar Tuareg acquire their vegetable food products. Their two important trading expeditions to the Tidikelt oases and to the Sudan are carried out anually for the main purpose of acquiring dates and millet.

Trading with the Tidikelt oases (Awlef and In Salah) is based mainly upon a surplus of goats, camels, butter and cheese, and on dried meat. But many Tuareg who obtain large amounts of millet from the Sudanese trading expedition also sell part of their wheat grown in their own gardens in Ahaggar, and Sudanese articles bought during their south-bound trading expedition. In a dry year some Tuareg may choose not to visit the Tidikelt area as they have too small a surplus for trading. The south-bound caravans, on the other hand, are rarely prevented from going as their main trading object is rock-salt of an excellent quality mined at Amadɣor north-east of the Ahaggar Massif. Both north-bound and south-bound caravans will set off in autumn when the hottest season has come to an end, that is at the end of September or at the beginning of October.

The caravan route from Tamanɣaset in Ahaggar to In Salah in Tidikelt is about 750 kilometres, and the route is rather difficult because pasture is normally lacking for three to four days of the journey. Most Tuareg who cross this part of the desert therefore bring with them large supplies of the dried *tullult*-grass (*Aristida pungens*), which also serves as fodder for the pack-camels during the stay in the oases around which there is little pasture. The journey takes about twenty days in each direction, and the north-bound caravans return to Ahaggar again already in December or in January.

The traders return with their camels loaded with dates of which a part may be re-sold in Ahaggar (Tamanɣaset), but they also buy European cotton and other European articles, which are cheaper in the north, and woollen blankets woven by sedentary people of the northern oases.

The south-bound caravans are very extensive. The towns visited in the south are Agadez, Tawa Tanut, and Zinder. The distance from Tamanɣaset to Zinder is, as the crow flies, about 1200 kilometres, while the distance from Tamanɣaset to Amadɣor, where salt is mined, is about 300 kilometres. In total the caravan journey from Ahaggar to Zinder and back again for many Tuareg amounts to more than 3000 kilometres. The south-bound caravans are organized as follows:— Slaves take the

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366
563
291
252
443

Fig. 149. The market place of Agadez. In the front negroid Hausa men roasting small pieces of meat on a spit; in the background Tuareg camels offered for sale.

484 pack-camels to the salt pit of Amadror to mine salt in the hot season. They load the camels with salt
487 and bring them to the camp where further preparations for the journey are made. When the caravans
[317] have started southwards they stop in the Tamesna plains and rest there for at least one month to allow
[437] the pack-camels to feed on annual pasture, and, if necessary, to exchange the pack-camels with others kept by the Ahaggar Tuareg in Tamesna. Thereupon the caravan will continue towards the millet-
[22] growing towns and villages of the Sudan to bargain with the Hausa. The caravan returns to Ahaggar again at the end of March or at the beginning of April, so that the total duration of a south-bound caravan is up to six or seven months.

433 The Sudanese millet trade is of extreme value to the subsistence of the Ahaggar Tuareg. It is partic-
439 ularly important to their economy that they obtain millet for non-nomadic products transported by camels, which are mainly bred outside of Ahaggar. The millet trade is consequently not much influenced by Ahaggar's changeable climate. According to official statistics, the Ahaggar caravans in 1946 exported 375 tons salt, and imported 720 tons millet, while the cereals grown in Ahaggar amounted to 197 tons (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). According to Galan vegetable food grown in the gardens of Ahaggar in 1950 (a bad year) amounted to 121 tons wheat, 5 tons millet and barley, and 4 tons of tomatoes – about 10 kg of wheat and 0.5 kg of millet, barley, and tomatoes per person (Galan 1951,
[466] p. 233). We see from this that the amount of cereals acquired in the Sudan far exceeds the amount grown in Ahaggar, and as we have mentioned, the millet trade is also important for the establishment of Tuareg agriculture in their own country where this cereal is used for payments to cultivators. It can also be added that the Sudanese caravan trade is more important to the Tuareg than appears from
[435] the figures above. For salt is much more valuable than millet, and for one load of salt the Tuareg receive from four to fifteen loads of millet – in 1946 the price was fifteen to one (cf. Malaurie 1953, p. 344). It is evident that the Tuareg could not take all this millet back to Ahaggar. Most of it is re-sold

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caravans of the south or by Ayr Tuareg who import more millet than they need for their own use. But millet is cheaper in Damergu than at the Agadez market, and most Tuareg prefer to organize their own millet caravans with camels and donkeys as pack-animals. In Damergu most Ayr Tuareg get millet in exchange for livestock or they buy it for money. Their caravans are not always very large, for the Southern Ayr Tuareg of the *Kel Ferwan* group do not organize their caravans co-operatively on the basis of kinship. Many individual households fetch their own millet with a few animals, and it is comparatively easy to do so as the millet growing country of Damergu is not very far away – the distance from Agadez to Tanut is only about 300 kilometres. The Ayr Tuareg do not have to engage in extensive trading expeditions to procure millet, and can buy millet very cheaply. A household, it is said, does not have to sell a great many animals to secure the necessary supply of millet. Three or four camel loads will cover the needs of most households, and this amount of millet can be acquired for comparatively few animals – particularly if the animals vended are sheep, which have become very expensive in recent times owing to the rapid increase of Europeans at Agadez. An extremely good sheep or ram for slaughtering can bring in 2000 to 3000 West African francs, and a Tuareg household which buys millet in Damergu will need less than 10,000 francs to acquire the quantity necessary for a year. Thus the Ayr Tuareg can obtain their millet for a few sheep, and there are very few, if any, who do not posses this surplus, and it should be repeated that the increment of livestock is never stopped by drought periods as in the north. The extremely high price for sheep for butchering is a recent phenomena due to the increase of the French population. Fully-grown sheep or rams are expensive, and this is also the case with fowls, while goats are cheap. I believe we can estimate that a household would have to sell about 15 goats anually to obtain the amount of millet necessary for one year's consumption. However, there is little doubt that it has always been quite easy for the Tuareg of Southern Ayr to obtain the requisite amount of millet in exchange for livestock.

Millet and milk constitute the basic nourishment of the Ayr Tuareg, but they are very fond of an occasional change of food. And I believe that this is one important reason why the Ayr Tuareg, like those of Ahaggar, collect wild seeds even in years when grown cereals are abundant. For a change, the Ayr Tuareg are also extremely fond of dates which are not grown to any great extent in their own country. A few Ayr Tuareg own palms yielding dates of poor quality, and I think that a few households also obtain some dates from Ingal. However, most dates eaten in Ayr are imported from the oasis of Bilma, situated in the very barren desert country between Ayr and Tibesti, about 700 kilometres north-east of Agadez.

The trade with Bilma is apparently an ancient one, and its foundation is salt which is of a very bad quality compared with that mined at Amadror in the north. The rock-salt of Amadror is excellent for food, and though there is one good quality of Bilma salt that is used for food by the Tuareg of Ayr, most salt from Bilma contains much soil and other impurities. This impure salt is excellent for domestic animals which, in Ayr and further south where salt pastures do not exist, need a lot of salt. The Ayr Tuareg, and particularly those who do not visit the country of Azaouaq at the end of the rains, need salt not only for their own food but also for their domestic animals. They obtain this from Bilma, which is visited by caravans in autumn or in the early winter. The inhabitants of Bilma, like other oases-dwellers, are in constant need of cereals and meat, and these products are imported

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by the Tuareg of Ayr, the *Kel Geres*, and other Tuareg. The Tuareg obtain salt generally in exchange for millet, but they also bring with them dried meat, and meat from animals newly slaughtered; and although this meat is largely rotten when it arrives at Bilma it is easily sold to the oases dwellers who are yearning for meat. The oases dwellers have little to subsist upon but dates of which they have a surplus. This is purchased by the Tuareg, who get two loads of dates for one load of millet. The Bilma trade is less important nowadays than it was at the beginning of the century. In 1922 the Bilma caravans comprised about 7000 camels (Buchanan 1926, p. 83), while in 1908, when the trade was already decreasing, caravans numbered about 20,000 camels (Abadie 1927, p. 292). Caravans still go to Bilma to fetch salt and dates, but the salt trade is not so profitable to-day when Bilma salt can be bought fairly cheaply at Agadez, as the trucks bringing provisions from Agadez to the French administration and to the merchants of Bilma, take salt back with them when they return. The Ayr Tuareg do not organize their trading expeditions within family groups or sections as in Ahaggar. A Tuareg who does not want himself to go to Bilma may let a kinsman or a friend trade for him with his camels. The payment for this is a large loaf of salt which constitute one sixth or one seventh of a camel load.

The Ayr Tuareg do not generally obtain salt from the pits of Tegidda-n-tésemt though this place is not very far from the Massif to the west. They say that the Tegidda salt is not as good as Bilma's. The salt of Tegidda-n-tésemt is purchased mainly by the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* when visiting the regions around Ingal after the rains. Some of the *Kel Ayr* who live in the extreme north (the *Kel Tédalé*, and others) occasionally go to Amadror in the north to fetch salt which is taken down to the Sudanese towns and villages. In years when drought prevails in Ahaggar these Tuareg take their surplus of livestock to the market at Tamanraset, for in dry years the provision of meat, butter, and cheese consumed in Ahaggar come mainly from Ayr and adjacent regions. When I stayed in Ahaggar in 1954–55 a great many Tuareg of the *Kel Tédalé* came to Tamanraset to sell camels, donkeys, sheep, goats, and zebus, and also brought with them large quantities of cow's butter and cheese. The route followed from Northern Ayr to Ahaggar runs via I-n-azawa and I-n-abeggi which are the only wells between the two mountain massifs. Water is very scarce and so is pasture, which is mainly limited to a scattered vegetation of annual plants; over very large areas there is no vegetation at all. It is easy to drive camels and donkeys through these regions, while more difficult for sheep, goats, and cattle. The zebus easily get cut hooves from walking on stony ground, while sheep and goats suffer much from thirst. In spite of this, all kinds of livestock can be driven through the barren desert from Ayr to Ahaggar, even as late as the month of March which is extremely hot in the barren desert country. The Tuareg frequently lose animals which die from thirst and hunger during the journey, but the trade is nevertheless extremely profitable as prices of livestock are high in Ahaggar in dry years, while prices of European goods such as tea, sugar, cotton, metal vessels, and the like are extremely low compared with the prices asked for these goods in Ayr.

The Ayr Tuareg, though owning more livestock than the Tuareg of Ahaggar, have a certain demand of agricultural food products. These products are mainly grown outside of the Massif, for the farmers of Ayr grow little millet, very few dates, and part of the wheat grown in Ayr is exported to the oases of Ganet and Rat in the north. Though these vegetable products can be purchased at Agadez, it is profitable to fetch them where they are cheap, namely in the Sudan (millet) and in Bilma (dates). And

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added that wars were not confirmed to fighting between these large political groups, for there was also fighting within these groups at intervals.

The Ayr Tuareg had as their main enemies the Tebu, the Eastern *Iwllemmeden* and the Arab pastoralists of the Tawa district. In Ayr there were also sharp disputes between various drum-groups of the Ayr federation, notably between the *Kel Ferwan* and the *Kel Faday*. The *Kel Faday* Tuareg frequently joined forces with the *Kel Dennek* in fighting the *Kel Ferwan*.

Throughout the 19th century there was a risk of severe trouble everywhere in the Sahara with adjacent regions, but caravan trading was most important to Tuareg subsistence at that period in spite of these latent conditions of hostility.

Great caravans then crossed the desert carrying gold, ivory, ostrich feathers, and slaves from the Sudan to the Mediterranean, and south-bound caravans traded with salt and Arab and European goods. The Tuareg had their important part in these large trading expeditions, and they traded with their surplus of livestock and stock-breeding products much in the same way as they do nowadays. They acquired dates and millet from the sedentary farmers who were in constant need of meat, butter, cheese, and the like.

The organization of caravan trading among the Ahaggar Tuareg was different in the past. To-day the normal trading units are tribal sections, and this was probably also true in pre-European times, but these trading units did not travel independently as they do nowadays. Several tribes of the same drum-group travelled together under the leadership of a noble Tuareg of the dominant tribe of their chiefdom. When the Ahaggar Tuareg had no severe disputes with the *Ulad Ba Ḥammu* who dominated the Tidikelt oases, they traded with their population of sedentary farmers much as they do nowadays. They brought livestock, butter, dried meat, and Sudanese goods which were bartered for dates and Arab goods. The Ahaggar Tuareg also traded southwards, but they say that they did not go further south than Agadez, as it was considered dangerous to penetrate too far into the Sudan. They also say that they did not trade with salt until a few years before the arrival of the French, and that the important trading object before that time were donkeys, of which there was a shortage in Ayr. All this seems to agree with Duveyrier's statement that the salt deposits of Amadror were not utilized in his time owing to insecurity, though he says that the deposits situated on the caravan road from Wargla to Agadez had formerly been mined (Duveyrier 1864, p. 143 f.). As to the caravan trade of the Ayr Tuareg, I believe that it was very much as it is nowadays, comprising trading expeditions to the millet-growing Sudan and to the Bilma oasis. It is most possible that the Ayr Tuareg also then travelled in larger units to protect themselves and their goods, for the *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg say that in the past camps were always bigger than to-day, as a camp consisting only of three to five tents could not defend itself against raiders.

It is known that the slave trade was carried on until the arrival of Europeans and in certain parts of the Sahara even later. Both the *Kel Ahaggar* and the *Kel Ayr* claim that they engaged in slave trading until it was abolished by the French authorities. However, it seems as if the Tuareg never engaged in this trade to the same extent as the Arabs. This is stated by Bissuel in regard to the Tuareg of Ahnet who bought their slaves from the market of Timbuktu. In general they kept these slaves for their own use, in contrast to the Arabs of Tidikelt who traded with slaves on a very large scale (Bissuel